DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, 1992-1996:
A Post-war Survey of Selected Municipalities

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background to Survey.

During the 1992-1996 conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, there were reports by various parties concerning the widespread destruction of cultural and religious heritage. In general, these reports came from the following sources: governmental organs and professional institutions in Bosnia-Herzegovina; the local religious communities; interviews with refugees conducted by humanitarian relief organizations and other non-governmental organizations; and media reports from the conflict zone.

In response, the Committee on Culture and Education of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly sent a series of missions to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia to collect information on the destruction by war of cultural heritage. The first of the ten information reports submitted by the Committee on this matter (Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Doc. 6756. 2 February 1993), characterized the destruction as "a cultural catastrophe in the heart of Europe."

The deliberate destruction of cultural property in the absence of overriding military necessity is a violation of international law and those responsible for ordering and carrying out such attacks can be prosecuted for war crimes. According to the statute of the ICTY, such crimes include the "seizure of, destruction, or willful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity, and education, the arts and sciences, historic monuments, and works of art and science." There is increasing awareness of the link between the systematic persecution and expulsion of ethnic and religious communities and the destruction of the cultural and religious heritage associated with the targeted community.

Following the end of hostilities and the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, it was evident that there was an urgent need to conduct an independent assessment of the damage inflicted on cultural heritage in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the conflict. However, amidst the post-war challenges of restoring security and public services, the human drama of the return of refugees, the discoveries of mass graves and other evidence of atrocities, and the urgency of providing basic necessities such as shelter,
the fate of cultural heritage was not foremost among the concerns of the international organizations and governmental bodies in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Dayton Peace Accords recognized the importance of cultural heritage in its Annex 8, which called for the establishment of a Commission to Preserve National Monuments. A Commission was set up, but it remained mired in disputes about political and procedural issues and had neither the budget nor the staff to conduct any assessments. The state institutions that had been in charge of heritage protection in Bosnia-Herzegovina before the war lost their former country-wide authority and their budgetary support, as a result of the decentralized political arrangements imposed by Dayton, and were thus in no position to carry out extensive field investigations.

Soon after the end of the war, the various religious communities in Bosnia undertook efforts to document and publicize damage to their respective sacral monuments, in part to help raise funds for reconstruction. In 1997-98, the Technical Cooperation and Consultancy Programme of the Cultural Heritage Division of the Council of Europe carried out an independent field survey of selected heritage sites, in cooperation with local authorities in both entities of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The resulting survey report, "Specific Action Plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Preliminary Phase: Final Report (March 1999)," was designed to identify priorities for restoration, but it also provides some independent, base-line information and photographs for a number of sites. The losses inflicted upon the cultural heritage of Bosnia-Herzegovina's ethnic and religious communities during the 1992-1996 war have been widely noted, but a comprehensive, country-wide survey has yet to be carried out.

In April 2002, following the presentation in court of my expert report and testimony concerning the destruction of cultural and religious heritage in the Kosovo conflict, I was approached by the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) about the possibility of also preparing a report on the destruction of cultural and religious heritage during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On 16 May 2002, I was engaged by the OTP to prepare such a report, to be based on a field investigation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The assignment was to document damage to cultural and religious sites of the Bosnian Muslim and
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Bosnian Croat (Roman Catholic) communities in at least fourteen municipalities specified by the OTP and in up to five additional municipalities, time permitting.

The fieldwork in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was carried out in July 2002, was supported by the OTP, which set the terms of reference for the mission and also provided transportation, a daily fee and per diem costs. In two and a half weeks of travel in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the field survey documented patrimonial sites in nineteen municipalities. The information and photographs collected in the field, combined with documentation gathered from other sources and subsequent analysis of the resulting database, form the basis of this report. The findings and conclusions of this report are entirely those of the author. At no stage in the process did the OTP seek to exert any influence or pressure on the author regarding the methodology of this study, its findings, or its conclusions.

1.2 Survey Goals and Methodology

The goal of the survey was to document cases of the deliberate destruction of cultural and religious heritage of the Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat communities during the 1992-1996 war in the specified municipalities. The religious and cultural sites to be surveyed included, but were not limited to, places of worship, libraries, educational buildings and cultural sites. According to the terms of the mission, at least six sites were to be documented in each specified municipality. For most municipalities, the actual number of sites visited and documented exceeded that target. In addition to a careful inspection of each of the sites visited, an effort was made to collect pre-war and post-war photographs and other information from the local community and from other sources.

In all, 392 sites were documented. 60 percent of the sites (234 sites) were inspected at first hand. For 40 percent (158 sites) the assessment is based on photographs and information obtained from other sources judged to be reliable (e.g. the local religious communities, photographs taken by ICTY investigators, the Council of Europe survey teams, local Institutes for the Protection of Monuments). When using information from external sources, only those sites were included in this survey for which there were photographs or other corroborating documentation. Whenever possible, an
effort was made to corroborate survey findings by using information from multiple, independent sources. For this survey, the term "site" is used to describe a particular building or institution devoted to religious worship (such as a mosque, church, or shrine) of the specified communities, or related cultural or educational uses (archive, library, religious school, monastic establishment, or dervish lodge). All sites are identified by type and use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUNICIPALITIES SURVEYED</th>
<th>number of sites</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Banja Luka</td>
<td>28*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bijeljina</td>
<td>15**</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Bosanska Krupa</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Bosanski Novi</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bosanski Samac</td>
<td>9***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bratunac</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Brcko</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Doboj</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>9. Foca</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Kljuc</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Kotor Varos</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Nevesinje</td>
<td>13****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Prijedor</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sanski Most</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Sarajevo-Centar</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Sarajevo-Stari Grad</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Srebrenica</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Visegrad</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Zvornik</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL:** 392

* total for Banja Luka includes 1 Catholic church in the suburban parish of Trn, which straddles the municipal boundary with the neighbouring municipality of Lukavac.
** total includes 4 mosques in villages, part of Ugljevik municipality before the war, that are now administered from Bijeljina.
*** total includes 2 sites (a Catholic church and a monastery) in the parish of Cardak, which straddles the boundary with the neighbouring municipality of Modrica.
**** total includes 2 mosques in the villages of Prijeca Strana and Zulja, which were part of Nevesinje before the war but are now administered from Mostar.
MUSLIM SITES
Mosques 277
Mektebs (Qur'an schools) 13
Turbes (Islamic shrines) 17
Tekkes (Dervish lodges) 4
Islamic clock towers 3
Islamic religious archives and libraries 18

ROMAN CATHOLIC SITES
Catholic churches 57
Catholic monasteries and convents 4
Catholic religious archives and libraries 2

NATIONAL LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES
National and University Library 1
Oriental Institute in Sarajevo 1

Cemeteries and cemetery chapels, which are not used for regular communal worship, were excluded from the scope of the survey, while mektebs (Qur'an schools) which are often used for communal prayers, were included.

The damage assessment for each site surveyed includes a verbal description. The damage was also graded according to a five-point scale, using the following terms:

*In good condition:* the building shows no sign of war damage or of recent reconstruction.

*Lightly damaged:* covers any damage that does not visibly compromise the main structure of the building; damage can range from vandalism or small fires set in the building, to bullet holes in the walls, shell holes in the roof, the top of a minaret or the top of a church steeple shot off, as long the principal part of the building appears to have survived structurally intact.
Heavily damaged: the building has suffered significant structural damage to its main elements; typically, this would be used to describe a building that has been completely burnt out, often with its roof entirely or substantially collapsed, or extensive blast damage, or a combination of damage to several parts of the structure.

Almost destroyed: several principal parts of the building, such as perimeter walls, are missing or severely compromised; the building appears to be beyond repair and would require complete reconstruction, but still has some identifiable elements standing.

Completely destroyed: the building has been razed and has no potentially salvageable elements left standing above ground.

In addition to the principal investigator, who determined the sites to be documented and carried out the documentation and assessments, the survey team also included an OTP investigator who acted as our driver, as well as Prof. Dr Muhamed Hamidovic, currently Dean of the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Sarajevo and former director of the Institute for Protection of Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Prof. Hamidovic assisted in arranging for local contacts and acted as guide to a number of heritage sites with which he was personally familiar. In all the municipalities surveyed, the local Islamic and Roman Catholic religious communities provided information, documents (including photographs) and assistance; in many places, local clergymen gave generously of their time to accompany and guide us to sites of destroyed places of worship.

While it was not the aim of the mission to cover every site in these municipalities, in most of the municipalities surveyed the great majority of the Islamic and Catholic sites extant before the war were in fact documented by this survey. Coverage for the municipalities of Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Bratunac, Sanski Most, and Zvornik is close to complete, and is nearly so for all but a handful of the other municipalities. Among the latter are the two Sarajevo municipalities, and Srebrenica and Visegrad, where the
most important damaged or destroyed monuments have been documented for this
survey, but some others alleged to have been damaged could not be included due to
lack of time or difficulties of access.

2.0 Findings

2.1 Damage to Islamic Architectural Heritage

Islamic religious heritage sites in Bosnia-Herzegovina include mosques (dzamija, mesdzid), tekkes (dervish lodges of the Sufi lay brotherhoods), turbes (shrines marking the burial places of popular saints and martyrs), clock towers (sahat kula), medresas (Islamic theological schools), mektebs (schools for Qur’an readers), and Islamic libraries and religious archives. All of these appear to have been singled out for destruction during the 1992-1996 war, in particular mosques.

The survey has documented 277 mosques in 19 municipalities, most of them located in territory seized and held by Bosnian Serb forces during all or the greater part of the war (Sarajevo is an exception in this regard). None of the 277 surveyed mosques were found to be undamaged, while only 22 mosques (less than 8 percent of the total) were assessed as lightly damaged.

Mosques found to have been lightly damaged fell into two categories. Some, located in Sarajevo, and in parts of Brcko, Doboj, and Zvornik municipalities held by Bosnian government forces during the war, were close to the front lines and were damaged by projectile impacts. Almost all of the other lightly damaged mosques, located in areas controlled by Bosnian Serb forces, were unfinished buildings still under construction at the time the war broke out.

Unfinished houses of worship of the non-Serb communities -- both mosques and Roman Catholic churches -- seem to have been frequent targets of vandalism and looting of building materials during the war, but were rarely destroyed. This odd selectivity suggests that those involved in tearing down mosques, an activity that requires some advance organization and planning (explosives, equipment, personnel),
may have been working from prepared lists, which would not have included religious buildings that were under construction and not yet in active use.

In all, 255 mosques, or 92 percent of the mosques surveyed, were found to have been heavily damaged or destroyed. Of these, 119 mosques were heavily damaged while 136 mosques were almost or entirely destroyed.

Close to 60 percent (161) of all mosques surveyed were built during the Ottoman era (early 15th century to 1878) or under Austro-Hungarian rule (1878-1918). A total of 71 mosques were listed monuments (cultural heritage under legal protection).

Of the 161 Ottoman-era and Austro-Hungarian-era mosques, more than 96 percent (155 mosques) were either heavily damaged or destroyed. Among the 71 mosques that were listed monuments, 18 were heavily damaged while 48 were almost or entirely destroyed.

Only five of the 71 listed mosques survived the war lightly damaged. Of those, four were in Bosnian-government-held territory and were repeatedly hit but not destroyed by shelling. The fifth listed mosque (the Cuckova dzamija in Nevesinje) had not been used for worship since the 1930s, had lost its minaret long before the war, and was used as a warehouse during the Communist period. It was vandalized and used as a rubbish dump after 1992, when Nevesinje fell under the control of Serb nationalist forces, but unlike the two other, active mosques in Nevesinje it was not destroyed.

The same pattern was evident for other types of Islamic religious monuments of cultural or historical importance. All 17 turbes (Islamic shrines) surveyed, 11 of them listed monuments, were either heavily damaged or destroyed. Three of the four dervish lodges (tekke) documented were heavily damaged or destroyed; one historic dervish lodge in Sarajevo was damaged by shelling but still stands.

Although it is often stated that all of the mosques located in territory controlled by Bosnian Serb forces during the war were completely razed, that is not quite the case. However, one can conclude from the findings of this survey that the overwhelming
majority (more than 92 percent) of the mosques were either heavily damaged or destroyed; and that mosques and other Muslim religious monuments of particular historic and cultural importance were singled out for destruction. Minarets, which with their tall spires are the most visible symbol of the Muslim community's presence in a locality, appear to have been favorite targets. Virtually no minarets survived the 1992-1996 war intact in the parts of Bosnia controlled by Bosnian Serb forces.\(^*\)

The damage to these monuments was clearly the result of attacks directed against them, rather than incidental to the fighting. Evidence of this includes signs of blast damage indicating explosives placed inside the mosques or inside the stairwells of minarets; many mosques are burnt out. In a number of towns, including Bijeljina, Janja (Bijeljina municipality), Foca, Banja Luka, Sanski Most, Zvornik and others, the destruction of mosques took place while the area was under the control of Serb forces, at times when there was no military action in the immediate vicinity.

Destruction of Islamic religious monuments occurred from the beginning of the war in April 1992 through the final phase of the fighting in 1995. Some of the destruction in the spring of 1992 has been linked to JNA forces. Examples of the latter include the Mosque at Orasje (near Doboj), destroyed on the Serb holiday of St. George's Day (6 May 1992) by uniformed JNA troops arriving in a military transporter, according to an eyewitness interviewed by this author (see database entry); the Gornja Mahala Mosque at Kotorsko (Doboj), destroyed on 6 May 1992 by rockets fired from a JNA military aircraft; and the Mosque at Grapska, near Doboj, heavily damaged, allegedly by a JNA tank firing its cannon at close range, on 12 May 1992 (see database entries).

The destruction of mosques and of other Islamic religious monuments appears to have been widespread and systematic and in many cases is reported to have taken place just before, or in some cases just after, a mass exodus of the local Muslim population. Reported statements made by the people expelled and by those engaged in the

\(^*\) The one, well-known exception is in Baljvine, near Mrkonjic Grad, where local Bosnian Serb inhabitants reportedly persuaded Serb paramilitaries to leave the mosque alone, saying it was part of the "local color." (Jolyon Naegele, “Banja Luka's Mufti Tells Of 'Four Years Of Horror',” *RFE/RL Weekday Magazine*, 6 Sept. 1996; [http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/1996/09/F_RU_96090616572638.html](http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/1996/09/F_RU_96090616572638.html).)
expulsions show an awareness of the actual and intended impact that the destruction of their houses of worship had on the targeted community:

"They bulldozed the two mosques in the main street in Visegrad so we wouldn't come back."

-- Bosnian Muslim refugees, interviewed on the outskirts of Visegrad by Maggie O’Kane, 20 August 1992.

"With their mosques, you must not just break the minarets," he said, "You've got to shake up the foundations because that means they cannot build another. Do that, and they'll want to go. They'll just leave by themselves."

-- Simo Drljaca, appointed by Radovan Karadzic as regional police chief for five municipalities in the Prijedor area, interviewed by Chuck Sudetic, 21 August 1992.

In many localities -- especially in major population centers, but at times also in village settings -- mosques were not only destroyed by burning and explosives, but the ruins were razed and the sites levelled with heavy equipment, and all building materials were removed from the site. The razing of the mosques and the levelling of the sites was generally carried out in the immediate aftermath of the destruction by work crews of the local Bosnian Serb municipal authorities, ignoring protests and pleas from the local Islamic communities. Particularly well-documented instances of this practice include the destruction and razing of 5 mosques in the town of Bijeljina; of 2 mosques in the town of Janja (in Bijeljina municipality); of 12 mosques and 4 turbes in Banja Luka; and of 3 mosques in the city of Brcko.

The rubble of the razed mosques was generally trucked out of town and deposited in rubbish tips. In some cases, such as that of the 18th-century Savska Mosque in Brcko, (see survey database entry for the mosque and the ICTY investigators' reports on the

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* Maggie O’Kane, “Then they set the house on fire and everyone inside was screaming … I was the only one who got out,” The Guardian, 20 Aug. 1992


*** The destruction and bulldozing of the mosques in Bijeljina was captured on video in a report from Bijeljina by ITN news correspondent Gaby Rado (17 March 1993) (See Appendix 2 below).
exhumation) the rubble of the destroyed mosque was dumped on top of a mass grave site and used to cover the remains of Muslim civilians killed by Serb forces.  

In a number of other cases, mosques were reportedly used as detention centers for Muslims (such as the Hadzi-Pasha Mosque, next to the Health Centre in Brcko), and as the scenes of killings of Muslim civilians and of Muslim clergymen. Examples of the latter include the village mosque at Hanifici (Kotor Varos), where more than 30 members of the congregation were reportedly burned alive inside the mosque (see (see statement of informant, interviewed by this author, in the database entry for the for the mosque), and the village of Carakovo (Prijedor), where Serb forces reportedly gathered 18 Muslim villagers in front of the mosque and killed them, wrapped the imam (clergyman) in a prayer carpet and burned him to death, then burned down the mosque and blew up the minaret (see database entry).

Many of the empty sites of razed mosques in territory under Bosnian Serb control have been desecrated, most commonly by being used as dumping sites for rubbish. As was noted by this observer in the course of the field survey, the presence of large, overflowing containers of rubbish on an empty lot in the center of towns in Republika Srpska often signals the site of a destroyed mosque; some examples include: the Begsuja Mosque in Zvornik; the Mosque of Mehmed-Chelebi in Kozluk (Zvornik municipality); the Mosque of Hadzi Mustafa in Foca; the Hadzi-Perviz Mosque in Banja Luka (see database entries). The deposit of rubbish at such sites was frequently seen piled next to an old linden tree, of the sort traditionally planted to the right of the entrances of Bosnian Muslim mosques. Although in some cases even the foundations of destroyed mosques have been dug up and removed (some examples of this include the Hadzi Pasha Mosque and the Sava Mosque, both in Brcko), one can often still see where the mosque once stood, by tracing lines of disturbed earth, stones in the ground and a difference in the growth of vegetation (for examples of the latter, see database entries for the Mosque of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in Bijeljina; the Aladza

* A similar incident is reported from Novoseoci, a village north of Sarajevo, where on 22 Sept. 1992 Serb forces reportedly took away 45 Muslim villagers, ages 14 to 85. The remains of 41 of the missing villagers were exhumed from a mass gravesite in the nearby hamlet of Ivan Polje in Sept.-Oct. 2000 by the Bosnian Commission for Missing Persons. The bodies had been buried beneath 15-ton chunks of the blown-up Novoseoci village mosque. The rubble of the mosque had been trucked to the site from Novoseoci. Mort Rosenblum, “41 Muslims Finally Buried in Bosnia,” Associated Press, 5 Nov. 2000.
Mosque and the Mosque of Sultan Bayezid II in Foca; the Mosque of Sultan Selim in Doboj; and the mosque at Konjevic Polje in Bratunac municipality). Graffiti with Serb nationalist or anti-Muslim messages were seen spray-painted on surrounding buildings, or on the remaining walls of ruined mosques, where the mosque had not been completely destroyed (for examples, see database entries for the Market Mosque in Prijedor, and the Vrbanja Mosque in Banja Luka).

The sites of razed mosques in a number of Serb-controlled towns (such as Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Zvornik, Foca, Nevesinje, Srebrenica, Prijedor and others) were observed to have been turned into rubbish tips, bus stations, parking lots, automobile repair shops, or flea markets. In some towns, new buildings have been erected on the sites of razed mosques, with the permission of the Serb authorities, despite protests from the local Islamic communities. Examples include but are not limited to the site of the 200-year-old Zamlaz Mosque in Zvornik, destroyed in 1992, where a large, four-storey block of flats and shops has been erected on the site (see database entry). In Divic, a formerly all-Muslim village near Zvornik, a new Serbian Orthodox church has been built on the site of the destroyed Divic Mosque (see database entry).*

2.2 Damage to Roman Catholic Architectural Heritage

Roman Catholic religious heritage sites in Bosnia-Herzegovina include churches, convents and friaries of the religious orders, and Roman Catholic religious libraries and archives. All of these appear to have been singled out for destruction during the 1992-1996 war, in particular churches.

The survey has documented 57 Catholic churches in 19 municipalities, most of them located in territory seized and held by Bosnian Serb forces during all or the greater part of the war (Sarajevo is an exception in this regard). None of the 57 surveyed Catholic churches were found to be undamaged, while 14 churches (24.5 percent of the total) were assessed as lightly damaged.

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* The illegal appropriation and misuse of sites of razed mosques in Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Janja, Zvornik, and Divic were the subject of decisions by the Human Rights Chamber of Bosnia and Herzegovina (case nos. CH/96/29, CH/98/1062, and CH/99/2656). (See Appendix 2 below)
Some of the Catholic churches assessed as lightly damaged are located in Sarajevo, and in parts of other municipalities held by Bosnian government forces during the war, were close to the front lines and were damaged by projectile impacts. Others, such as the Catholic parish church at Sibovi (Kotor Varos municipality), were still under construction at the time the war broke out and appear to have been vandalized and looted of building materials, but not destroyed.

Unlike the situation with regard to mosques, there were also a handful of Roman Catholic churches in Serb-controlled town centers that escaped with minor damage. Examples of the latter include the Roman Catholic cathedral in Banja Luka and the Catholic parish churches in Bijeljina and Brcko.

In most other municipal centers covered by the survey, however, the Catholic parish churches met with the same fate as the town mosques and were completely destroyed. In the towns of Bosanski Samac, Doboj, Kljuc, Nevesinje, Prijedor, and Sanski Most, the local Catholic parish churches were completely destroyed by Serb forces and the ruins razed to the ground (see database entries). In the towns of Bosanska Krupa and Kotor Varos, the Roman Catholic churches were very heavily damaged. In a number of towns, including Bosanska Krupa and Bosanski Samac, the ruined Roman Catholic parish church stood across the street from the local Serbian Orthodox church, which remained intact. In Bosanski Samac, the demolition of the Catholic church, using explosive charges, reportedly took more than two months (Jan.-March 1993), carried out slowly in order not to endanger the Serbian Orthodox church facing the site across the street (see statement of the Catholic parish priest, interviewed by this author, in the database entry for the Catholic church at Bosanski Samac).

As in the case of the mosques, Catholic churches of historic and cultural importance appear to have been disproportionately targeted. All but one of the 7 Roman Catholic churches in the survey that were under legal protection (listed monuments) were found to have been either heavily damaged or completely destroyed.
All told, more than 75 percent of the 57 Roman Catholic churches documented in the survey were either heavily damaged (30) or destroyed (13). Three of the four Roman Catholic convents and monasteries surveyed were also heavily damaged or destroyed.

The most common means of destruction included mining of the steeple and arson or mining of the church; some examples include the Catholic churches in Sasina near Sanski Most (mined), in Surkovac near Prijedor (mined), in Bosanska Krupa (burnt), and in Ulice near Brcko (burnt, steeple mined) (see database entries). Close to a dozen Roman Catholic churches, such as those at Dubrave and Boderiste (Brcko), and at Sokoline (Kotor Varos), were badly damaged by shelling.

Destruction of Roman Catholic religious monuments occurred from the beginning of the war in April 1992 through the final phase of the fighting in 1995. Some of the destruction in the spring of 1992 has been linked to JNA forces. An example of the latter is the Roman Catholic parish church in the village of Gorice (Brcko), which was very heavily damaged on 8 May 1992 in an attack by JNA military aircraft, according to an eyewitness interviewed by this author (see database entry for the church).

In a number of cases, the destruction of churches was associated with killings of Bosnian Croat civilians and the abuse and killing of Roman Catholic clergy. Examples include the Roman Catholic church at Brisevo (Prijedor municipality), burnt out in a July 1992 attack in which all the houses in the village were also burnt and 78 parishioners, including women and children, were reportedly killed (according to statement by the parish priest, interviewed by this author; see database entry for the church). In the town of Prijedor the Roman Catholic parish church was mined twice (Sept. 1992 and Aug. 1995). After the second explosion, which levelled the remains of the church, Bosnian Serb police detained the parish priest, Father Tomislav Matanovic, and his aged parents, who were not seen alive again; their bodies were discovered six years later, shot in the head and dumped into a well near Prijedor. * When the Catholic parish church at Presnace, near Banja Luka, was burned and

* The Matanovic case has been the subject of decisions by the Human Rights Chamber of Bosnia and Herzegovina (case no. CH/96/1). On the recovery of the bodies, see "Some Dignity at Last for Victims of 'Disappearance' in Prijedor," Amnesty International 23 Nov. 2001 (AI Index EUR 63/014/2001).
mined in April 1995, the adjacent parsonage was also set on fire, burning to death the parish priest and a nun.

2.3 Damage to Archives and Libraries

In addition to the damage to houses of worship and other religious buildings, archives and libraries were also subjected to attacks during the 1992-1996 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Losses include the destruction of religious archives of the local Islamic communities. These archives included both communal records, such as documents pertaining to the properties of the Muslim religious endowments (vakuf) that sustain the activities of the Islamic community, as well as personal documents and historical records of the community, its members, and its religious leaders.

In 13 of the 19 municipalities surveyed (Bosanska Krupa, Bosanski Novi, Bosanski Samac, Bratunac, Doboj, Foca, Kljuc, Nevesinje, Prijedor, Sanski Most, Srebrenica, Visegrad, Zvornik), representatives of the local Islamic Communities reported that the community's religious archives had been destroyed. In the majority of the cases, the archive appears to have been burned along with the building that housed the chancery of the Islamic community. However in some municipalities, such as in Doboj and Nevesinje, the Islamic community buildings were seized by the Serb authorities and remain intact, while the archive's contents were reportedly taken out and destroyed.

A number of important religious libraries and collections of ancient manuscripts held by the local Islamic Communities were also burned. Among these were Islamic libraries in Janja (Bijeljina municipality), Foca, Kljuc, Prijedor, and Sanski Most. Losses of religious archives and libraries of the Roman Catholic community in the municipalities surveyed include the archives and library of the Provincial House and Convent of the Order of the Handmaids of the Child Jesus in Sarajevo, headquarters of the only Catholic religious order founded in Bosnia. In April 1992, the convent was occupied by JNA troops, who reportedly expelled the nuns, vandalised and looted the building, and destroyed the religious library and archives (see database entry).
In Brcko, the Catholic parish priest stated, in an interview with the author of this report, that in 1992 Serbs broke into the parish house and took away the parish archives (baptismal registers, records of marriages and burials from the parish) and the religious library. These have never been returned. The Catholic parish priest in Doboj, in an interview with this author, reported that in August 1992 the parish house and convent was vandalized and looted by three “red berets” in military uniforms, speaking a dialect indicating they were from Serbia, who searched for the parish archives. However, the archives had been hidden at the priest’s request by “good people, local Serbs,” who took them to their houses after the first attack on the Catholic parish church in May 1992 and who returned them after the end of the war (see database entry for the Catholic parish church in Doboj).

The most egregious attacks on archives and libraries took place during the siege of Sarajevo, where on 17 May 1992 the Institute for Oriental Studies was bombarded with incendiary munitions from Serb positions and burnt with the loss of all of its collections. Among the latter were the former Ottoman provincial archives (more than 200,000 documents) and cadastral registers documenting land-ownership in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the end of the Ottoman period. The losses also included the country's richest collection of Islamic manuscripts (5,263 codices in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Bosnian), many of them unique, the products of five centuries of Bosnian Muslim cultural history. The Oriental Institute had clearly been singled out. According to interviews with eyewitnesses, the building had been hit with a barrage of incendiary munitions, fired from positions on the hills overlooking the town center. No other buildings in the densely built neighborhood were hit. The Institute, which occupied the top floors of a large, four-storey office block on the corner of Veljka Cubrilovica Street and Marshal Tito Boulevard (Sarajevo-Centar municipality), was completely burned out, its collections destroyed."

Three months later, an hour after sunset on the evening of 25 August 1992, Bosnia’s National Library (Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine) was bombarded and set ablaze by a tightly targeted barrage of incendiary shells, fired from multiple Bosnian Serb army (VRS) positions on the heights overlooking the old town. As firemen fought the blaze, the attackers swept the surroundings with heavy machinegun and anti-aircraft cannon fire aimed at street level, in order to keep away firemen and volunteers trying to save books from the burning building. Shortly before the attack, the city’s water supply had been cut by the besiegers, forcing the firemen to draw water from the nearby Miljacka River while under continuous fire from Serb positions overlooking the site. As the flames started to die down around daybreak, the shelling resumed and the building continued to burn for some fifteen hours; it smoldered for days thereafter. An estimated 1.5 million volumes, comprising the bulk of the National Library’s collections, were consumed by the flames in this, the largest single incident of deliberate book-burning in modern history. Once again, only the library was targeted with incendiary shells. Surrounding buildings in the densely built neighborhood surrounding the burned-out library remain intact to this day."

3.0 Use of Database

The database was created with FileMakerPro Version 5.0. Database entries are divided into five sections: 1) building identification; 2) building condition, including a narrative description of damage and pre- and post-war photographs when available; 3) informant statements when available; 4) bibliography; and 5) media accounts. 

To search in the database, select “mode” in the menu bar (control-F) and then select “find” in the drop-down menu. A blank record will then appear. Keywords can be

"See: András Riedlmayer, “From the Ashes: The Past and Future of Bosnia’s Cultural Heritage,” In: Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), pp. 98-135. See also the documentary film “Burning Books,” directed by Knut W. Jorfald (Engarde Film, 2002), which includes original video footage of the destruction of the National Library and interviews with eyewitnesses; and reports filed from the scene of the burning library by Kurt Schork (Reuters) and John Pomfret (Associated Press) (see Appendix 2 below)."
entered in one or more fields on the blank record. After selecting all keyword parameters, press the “find” button, which is located on the left margin of the record. All records fulfilling the search terms will then appear as numbered rolodex cards in the upper left corner of the margin. Records can be searched by clicking on these cards or by entering card numbers below the rolodex.

Keyword searching can be done in any field, including: district name (municipality); town name; building name, in BCS or English; building use; building type; and building condition. For example, in order to find all damaged Catholic Churches in the database, specify “Catholic Church” as a keyword in “building type” and specify “damaged” as a keyword in “building condition.”

To find keywords in fields with different options, select the field and a drop-down menu will display all keyword options.

Truncated searching is allowed in all fields. For example, to find “Mosque of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent,” it is possible to enter only “Magnificent” in the “building name” field. Or, if the correct spelling of a building name is unknown, a portion of the name can be used as a search parameter. For example, to find “Ferhadija Mosque” it is possible to enter only “Ferhad” in the “building name” field. The search terms are not case-sensitive.

4.0 Principal Investigator

András J. Riedlmayer, B.A., M.A., M.S., Cand. Phil., directs the Documentation Center of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at the Fine Arts Library, Harvard University, and is a recognized expert on the cultural heritage of the Ottoman-era Balkans. A curriculum vitae has been submitted to the court.

Appendix 1: Description and Assessment of Documentation Sources

A1.1 Field Investigations by the Author (07/2002), including site visits and collection/consolidation of photographs and other documentation from published and
unpublished sources. The survey database, with 392 entries (in a simple FileMaker database format, including more than 1,000 photographs and other documentation) is attached. The survey’s archive of documentation on damage to cultural heritage in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including additional photographs, architectural plans, and other data, has been deposited at the Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.

Remarks: In the course of the field survey, 234 sites were documented at first hand. In addition to providing information for the majority of the entries in the database, this also allowed the author to check the evidence of first-hand findings against the documentation obtained from other sources for some of the same sites in order to control its accuracy. While the survey covers most of the important heritage sites in the 19 municipalities, there were some sites that could not be visited due to the bad state of the roads, or time constraints. The passage of time since the end of the war and the alteration of some sites by recent reconstruction efforts made assessment difficult in some cases; in such cases, photographs and other documentation were used to cross-check information from other sources and as a basis for assessment.

A1.2 Council of Europe (1997-1998). After the end of the war, the Technical Cooperation and Consultancy Programme of the Cultural Heritage Division of the Council of Europe carried out an independent field study of selected heritage sites, in cooperation with local authorities in both entities of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The resulting report, "Specific Action Plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Preliminary Phase: Final Report (March 1999)," was designed to identify priorities for restoration, but it also provides some independent, base-line information and photographs for a number of sites. All photographs and other information taken from the Council of Europe report for this survey are identified as such.

Remarks: The Council of Europe study was designed to cover listed monuments and sites throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, in practice this did not prove to be possible. For a number of municipalities, coverage is spotty at best (e.g. only four sites are included for Sarajevo); entries are often incomplete, sometimes no more than an uncaptioned photograph, damage descriptions are missing in some cases, and a number of sites are either unidentified or misidentified by the CoE teams (e.g.
the entries for mosques in Srebrenica, Bijeljina, and Foca). Nevertheless, the Council of Europe's report contains a great deal of information, covers a lot of territory and includes some useful photographs, taken in the immediate aftermath of the war.

A1.3 Islamic Community (07/2002). The Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Rijaset Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini) is the central governing body for the organized Islamic congregations in the various municipalities. The Rijaset has made efforts to document the wartime losses to Islamic religious heritage in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some of this documentation has been published since the war, most notably in Muharem Omerdic's book, *Prilozi izucavanju genocida nad Bosnjacima (1992.-1995.)* (Sarajevo: El Kalem, 1999), which has a section listing damage to mosques and other religious buildings, arranged by municipality. Other information, primarily photographs of war-damaged mosques now in Federation territory, appear in three other volumes: *Izlozba dokumentarne fotografije o porusenim i ostecenim dzamijama: Sarajevo, april 1995* [exhibition catalogue] (Sarajevo: Drzavna komisija za prikupljanje cinjenica o ratnim zlocinima na području Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, 1995); Kemal Zukic, *Slike zlocina: rusenje islamskih vjerskih objekata u BiH = The Evidence of Crime: The Destruction of Islamic buildings in B&H* (Sarajevo: Centar za islamsku arhitekturu, 1999); and Kemal Zukic, *Islamic Architecture in the Balkans and Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Sarajevo: ISESCO, 2000). The destruction of 16 mosques in Banja Luka in May-December 1993 is also documented in an illustrated volume by the Banja Luka journalist and local historian, Aleksandar Aco Ravlic, *Banjalucka Ferhadija: ljepotica koji su ubili* (Rijeka: AARiS, 1996). Mr. Omerdic provided us with a copy of his book and also arranged contacts with the local Islamic communities in the municipalities to be surveyed and with the mufti's offices (regional governing bodies of the Islamic community) in Banja Luka, Bihac, Gorazde, Mostar, and Tuzla. The local Islamic communities in municipalities visited in the course of the survey provided us with guides, usually clergymen (local imams) who were personally familiar with the sites of the war damaged mosques, as well as providing copies of unpublished photographs, extracts from cadastral records and other documents.
Remarks: The documentation collected by the Rijaset and published in Mr. Omerdic's book appears to be comprehensive at first glance, but as it was compiled not long after the end of the war it has some shortcomings. This is especially so for sites in the Bosnian Serb entity (RS) where in the first years after the war there had yet to be any substantial returns of expelled Muslim residents and access was limited. Thus, for some municipalities the information in the volume is somewhat incomplete and ends up understating the actual number of mosques damaged in the war. Coverage for Islamic heritage other than mosques, especially buildings not under the institutional control of the Rijaset (such as dervish lodges and turbes) is also incomplete. The damage descriptions for individual sites are at times inexact or stated in very broad, general terms and the volume is sparsely illustrated. The information obtained from the local Islamic Communities was usually more complete and up-to-date, was often supported by photographs and documents, and its accuracy could be checked against observations on site. The survey found no sites for which damage had been claimed when none existed.

A1.4 Mr. Bekir Besic, a member of the council of the Islamic Community of Banja Luka during the war who is now living as a refugee in Linköping, Sweden, kindly provided a copy of a large and detailed map of Bosnia-Herzegovina, on which he has plotted sites of mosques damaged and destroyed during the 1992-1996 war, based primarily on the catalogue of monuments in Muharem Omerdic's book. Mr. Besic's map provides a good visual representation of the overall pattern of damage to Islamic religious sites in Bosnia and it is included as a supplement to this report.

Remarks: The plotting of the sites entered on Mr. Besic's map and its consistency with the sources of documentation used has been checked and found to be reliable.

A1.5 Roman Catholic Church (07/2003). The Roman Catholic Church authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina have made efforts to document the wartime losses to Catholic religious heritage in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some of this documentation has been published since the war, most notably in a volume entitled, Raspeta crkva u Bosni i Hercegovini: unistavanje katolickih sakralnih objekata u Bosni i Hercegovini (1991.-1996.) (Banja Luka – Mostar – Sarajevo: Hrvatska matica iseljenika Bosne i...
Remarks: The documentation collected by the Roman Catholic Church authorities and published in the book edited by Fr. Zivkovic appears to be generally accurate and reliable. While damage descriptions at times seem vague or overstated, the majority of entries are illustrated with photographs, showing churches before and after they were damaged. These and additional unpublished photographs provided by local parish priests and the bishops' offices, as well as the observations of sites visited on the survey, provided additional means of cross-checking information. The survey found no sites for which damage had been claimed when none existed.

A1.6 Institute for the Protection of Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina / Heritage Centre of Bosnia and Herzegovina (07/2003). Before the war, this Institute was charged with documenting and protecting heritage sites throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. During the siege of Sarajevo, it lost both staff members and parts of its archive of documentation. After the war, it lost its former country-wide authority and budgetary support, as a result of the decentralized political arrangements imposed by Dayton, and was thus in no position to carry out extensive field investigations. Nevertheless, the Institute was able to publish an inventory of war damage to cultural and religious monuments in Bosnia-Herzegovina, based in part on its own work and in large part on information obtained from the files of the Bosnian State War Crimes Commission and the religious communities. The inventory appeared in two editions; one in English translation: A Report on the Devastation of Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage of the Republic/Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (from April 5, 1992 until September 5, 1995), ed. Muhamed Hamidovic (Sarajevo: The Institute, 1995), and a revised edition, only in Bosnian, entitled: Izvijestaj o devastaciji kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa
Bosne i Hercegovine (1992-1995) (Sarajevo: Zavod za zastitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijedja BiH, Centar za naslijedje BiH, 1997). The Institute also located in its archive a number of photographs documenting the state of cultural heritage sites before the war and generously made them available for this survey.

Remarks: Due to the limitations described above, the information published by the Institute concerning damage to cultural heritage is based in part on documentation collected by other sources, and thus reproduces some of their shortcomings. In a small number of instances the same site is entered more than once, under different names, and sometimes the number assigned as damage category for a given site exaggerates (or in some cases understates) the actual damage. Despite such limitations, the Institute's published inventory represents a unique effort to catalogue the damage to the cultural heritage of all of Bosnia-Herzegovina's ethnic and religious communities. The pre-destruction photographs of listed monuments from the Institute's archive proved invaluable in providing positive identifications of some sites and base-lines for damage assessments.

A1.7 Cantonal Institute for the Protection of Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage - Sarajevo (07/2003). The Cantonal Institute has also published a volume documenting war damage to heritage sites in the Sarajevo area and the Institute's restoration work since the war: Katalog obnove kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijedja Kantona Sarajevo, 1996-2000, ed. Valida Celic-Cemerlic (Sarajevo: Kantonalni zavod za zastitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijedja Sarajevo, 2000). The volume catalogues war damage to 68 Islamic and 13 Roman Catholic religious monuments in the Canton of Sarajevo. However, only selected sites are illustrated. The Institute staff also kindly furnished photographs and other documentation for this survey.

Remarks: The Cantonal Institute for the Protection of Heritage, unlike the national institute, survived the war without damage and has not had to struggle with problems of access to sites or institutional support. The documentation and information the Cantonal Institute provided for heritage sites in Sarajevo was confirmed in all cases on our site visits.
A.1.8 Regional Museum in Bihac (07/2003). The Museum of the Una Region (Regionalni muzej "Pounja") in Bihac held an exhibition in 1997 on cultural heritage in Una-Sana Canton destroyed in the war. Among the exhibits were about 90 mounted photographs showing war-damaged mosques, some dozens of them located in municipalities covered in this survey (Bosanska Krupa, Kljuc, Sanski Most). The director of the museum kindly arranged to have the exhibit panels brought out of storage early on a Sunday morning and allowed me to photograph them. The photographs had been taken in 1996 and 1997 (most bore automatic date stamps) and provided valuable base-line documentation for a number of sites that had since been altered by reconstruction.

**Remarks:** The mounted photographs on the exhibition panels were in the form of enlarged color photocopies of the original shots, glued onto cardboard. In the five years since the exhibition, some of them had bubbled up from their backings, which made it difficult to photograph them for this survey without encountering problems of glare and distortion. The quality of some of the resulting copy images is impaired as a result; however, the mounted images at the museum were all inspected at first hand, and provided information that may not be easily visible on the copy photos.

A.1.9 ICTY Investigators. Photographs documenting damage to cultural and religious heritage, taken by Tribunal investigators during field investigations in several of the municipalities included in this survey (Bijeljina, Bratunac, Brcko, Doboj, Foca, Prijedor, Zvornik) were made available by the OTP for this study. A number of these have been used in the survey database. All photo sources are clearly indicated in the survey entries.

**Remarks:** Most of the ICTY photographs were taken relatively recently (2000-2002), which means that in those areas that have seen returns of expelled populations, who have started to rebuild their destroyed villages and mosques or churches, the photos will sometimes show a site under construction, or a newly finished building, rather than the ruined building that presumably preceded it. This is true for at least some villages in most of these municipalities, except for Bratunac, where there have been few returns and no rebuilding of mosques as of the summer of 2002. The photo
captions provided are slightly muddled in some cases, as the ICTY investigators who took the photographs were not always familiar with the specialized terminology—for example, sometimes a photo of a mesdzid (small mosque, often without a minaret) is mislabeled as a "school" (mekteb = Qur'an reader's school). However, in most cases this was not hard to sort out, using other documentation in hand.

A.1.10 Private Individuals

A number of photographs of damaged cultural and religious heritage sites were obtained from private individuals, including colleagues and friends who have worked in Bosnia-Herzegovina since the end of the war as OSCE election observers or for other NGOs and humanitarian aid organizations. Among those represented by more than one photograph are: Bernard Béné, Richard Carlton, David Harbin, Thomas Keenan, Lucas Kello, Joann Kingsley, Jonathan Morgenstein, Donald Reeves, and Helen Walasek. All sources of photographs and the dates they were taken are clearly identified in the captions in the database entries.

Remarks: A number of these photographs date from the early years after the war and show wartime damage that may no longer be evident on later photos of the same site.

A1.10 Media Accounts

An effort was made to collect any specific, first-hand accounts and published photographs by news reporters on the destruction of cultural heritage in media reports filed from Bosnia-Herzegovina during and after the war. Reports that were of a general nature or that merely recycled second-hand information were discounted. While some details such as the names and age of monuments are often garbled in news reports, the first-hand descriptions of damage can serve to corroborate and supplement information from other sources. Excerpts from first-hand media accounts are included in a separate field in the database entry for each site for which such accounts were available.

Appendix 2: List of Documents Submitted

A.2.1 Survey Database, including 392 entries documenting damaged or destroyed cultural and religious sites in Bosnia, compiled by András Riedlmayer (see par. 1.2

A.2.3 Map of Bosnia, with sites of destroyed mosques marked in red, by Mr. Bekir Besic, Linköping, Sweden (see par. A1.4. above). [2 sheets]


A.2.5 Video clip of ITN news footage, reported by Gaby Rado from Bijeljina, showing the destruction of the town’s 5 mosques in progress (17 March 1993). [1 video cassette]

A.2.6 Report by Mort Rosenblum, on the exhumation of 41 residents of the Muslim village of Novoseoci buried in a mass gravesite at Ivan Polje, beneath the rubble of the destroyed Novoseoci mosque. "41 Muslims Finally Buried in Bosnia," Associated Press, 5 November 2000. [3 pages]

A.2.7 Report from Visegrad by Maggie O’Kane, “Then they set the house on fire and everyone inside was screaming … I was the only one who got out,” The Guardian (London), 20 August 1992. [5 pages]


A.2.9 Decisions on the Admissibility and Merits of the Human Rights Chamber of Bosnia-Herzegovina in cases brought by the Islamic Community of Bosnia and
Herzegovina against the Republika Srpska, concerning the sites of mosques destroyed during the war in the towns of Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Janja, Zvornik, and Divic:

- case no. CH/96/29 (11 June 1999) [38 pages];
- case no. CH/98/1062 (9 November 2000) [24 pages];
- case no. CH/99/2656 (6 December 2000) [25 pages].

... and in the case of Father Tomislav Matanovic, Catholic parish priest in Prijedor:
- case no. CH96/1 (11 July 1997) [9 pages]

A.2.10 Documentation on the Destruction of the National Library.

A.2.10.1 Documentary "Burning Books: The Destruction of a National Library" directed by Knut W. Jorfald (Engarde Film, 2002), including original video footage of the destruction of the National Library in August 1992 and interviews with eyewitnesses [1 video cassette]

A.2.10.2 Report filed from the scene of the burning library by Kurt Schork (Reuters), "Jewel of the city destroyed by fire," The Times (London), 27 August 1992. [1 page]

A.2.10.3 Report filed from the scene of the burning library by John Pomfret, "Battles for Sarajevo intensify as Bosnian peace conference opens," Associated Press, 26 August 1992 [2 pages]

A.2.10.4 Questions sent to Dr Fahrudin Kalender by András Riedlmayer and Matej Vipotnik, (11 September 1996) concerning the 25-26 August 1992 attack on the National and University Library in Sarajevo. [2 pages]

A.2.10.5 Eyewitness statement of Dr Fahrudin Kalender concerning the attack on the National and University Library, Sarajevo; Dr Kalender's signed statement (in BCS) received by fax from Sarajevo 5 October 1996. [4 pages]

A.2.10.6 English translation of statement by Dr Fahrudin Kalender (translated by András Riedlmayer and Ellen Elias-Bursac). [4 pages]
A.2.10.7 Summaries of eyewitness statements by residents of the Sarajevo neighborhood overlooking the National Library and Sarajevo firemen who were present at the fire, interviewed by Matej Vipotnik (July 1996) [English] [5 pages]

A.2.10.7.1 Audiotape of eyewitness statements by residents of the Sarajevo neighborhood overlooking the National Library and Sarajevo firemen who were present at the fire, interviewed by Matej Vipotnik (July 1996) [BCS] [1 cassette]

A.2.10.7.2 Photographs showing vantage points of eyewitnesses to the destruction of the National Library, interviewed by Matej Vipotnik (July 1996) [11 digital photos]


